Sometimes these aberrancies were viewed as desirable sources of supernatural power, but on other occasions, they were seen as a sign of demerit, caused embarrassment, and were suffocated at once (if alive), and buried. 845 847

If a woman died pregnant, her body was at once brought to the temple where the unborn child was removed surgically. The usual solacing sermon, rites "to lead the deceased to live in her right place in the next world," and cremation took place, with the fetus laid beside its mother so that it "would come out normally." The mother and child were separated to prevent a ghost which was double-powered. No prayers were chanted at home before exsection "lest they make the power of the spirit stronger." Moreover, any violent or premature death caused an angry ghost. The ghost of a premature child had a heavy load of sin, for its stay in purgatory, where sin was worked off, had been interrupted (Textor:262). An unscrupulous mɔ̄ was eager to get possession of any ghost for use in sorcery, and a double ghost was stronger than any other. Ghosts were obtained by plundering the mortuary chambers of the temple prior to cremation. By feeding (liang) it, a mɔ̄ controlled it. The ghost of a male infant was preferable because it was "stronger than that of a female." In the light of this situation, not only should the body of a pregnant woman never be left alone " so that no one can get at them (sic)," but a pregnant woman herself ought not to be alone.[26] The behavior towards the Rice Goddess, Mother Posop, who was "pregnant" when the grains in the stalk filled out, illuminated many of these attitudes: "Mae Posop feels weak, hungry, and uneasy. She is a woman and beautiful in her pregnancy." To allay her hunger the 845 766 [775] 845 775 754 775 843 782 [754] 843 782 776

26. In Cambodia, a pregnant woman might be murdered, even by her husband, so that the murderer might gain the malevolent power that possession of her now double soul would afford. (E.R.E. "Cambodia": p.159). This specific statement was not found in Bang Chan but might be part of the shadowy background to local reluctance to leave a pregnant woman alone. [171]

844 In view of the stake of a child in the successful outcome of his own birth,[39] under what circumstances might a child not be helpful? This was explained by merit (bun) and habit (khoei).

Merit

782 828 761 844 Since merit, gained through virtuous behavior, determined a person's character, circumstances, health, and longevity, the merit of mother and child set the course of childbirth. It will be recalled that persons who lacked merit because of previous sins were cruel, lived short lives, and had to endure suffering, while meritorious persons enjoyed success, kindly natures, and long life. Yet an outwardly fortunate person might be at the point of merit-exhaustion, when suffering commenced. Any mother who suffered greatly lacked merit. In one case, "7 babies of a woman died young while the eighth and subsequent ones lived, proving she had to suffer greatly to work off some misdeed in former existences. She was given the trouble of bearing and feeding the child, and the child did not have enough merit to grow up, and so to feed her in return." Her punishment was to bear non-meritorious children who could not live. A woman's premature[40] death in childbirth was caused only by her own lack of merit.

• [171] 39. By way of contrast, consider how parturition is pictured in the United States. The active role is played by the midwife or doctor, or some other outsider, who "delivers," i.e. "liberates," the child from the womb, or frees the mother and baby from one another. "A child is born" presents the child as completely passive; in "to have a baby" the mother is relatively so. The most active English renderings are "to bear a child" and "to give birth to a child." It is noteworthy that modern anaesthetics have tended to increase the passivity of the mother.

40. The idea of a natural term of life was described in the Visuddhi-Magga: "The Karma that caused conception has ripened to a termination, although the dependence for continuing the series constituting the term of life be not exhausted. Death by the exhaustion of the natural term of life occurs when the span of life, the nutritive powers... proper to any given grade of existence come to an end..." (Warren:252).

761
775 Moreover, her life would some day begin again. Whether birth
844 was rapid or slow, the experience of the suffering deepened her sense of compassion and, as will be shown, brought her closer to fulfillment of her life role.[41]

Habit

153 If mutual help organized relationships, habit (khoei)
82 stabilized them. Khoei means "to be used to, accustomed to,
853 habituated." A first occurrence was an example and set the
[761] pattern for all subsequent occurrences. With one performance one was accustomed to an action. For instance, shortly after the temple was built 2 people died, deaths in Bang Chan "always occurred in pairs;" it was the temple's "habit." Moreover, "the head priest could never expel a priest because he had never done so." Again, a few women saw to it that during this period their babies were given a few grains of rice (even though they were far too young to be offered raw rice regularly), so that "later on, if they got sick,
• [171] they could always at least eat rice," for "they would be used to it." "Glutinous rice was not good for babies in Bang Chan, but in North Thailand [where it was a staple] it could be eaten because people were used to it." Someone had set the example which started the custom.

---

844 41. Bang Chan's Buddhist phrasing of the meaning of pain and
154 death in childbirth seems to indicate that childbirth occurred
171 under psycho-cultural conditions that induced relaxation and
114 reduced fear and pain. An "easy" delivery lasted 2 hours. According to a modern medical theory, (Dick-Read: Childbirth Without Fear, passim) lack of fear of childbirth leads to mental and physical relaxation which in turn reduces pain and labor. Dr. Dan Bradley observed that labor was shorter among Siamese women than among non-Siamese. "Facts seem to prove that parturition is both shorter and easier to Siamese mothers than is usual to Europeans and Americans" (Bradley, 1865:79). We accept his first-hand observation because he had 40 or more years of experience in delivering babies, both Thai and non-Thai (missionary wives, etc.), and suggest that it may be taken as proof of mental and physical relaxation derived from lack of fear. Although the missionary women may have been frightened because they were in a far country, Dick-Read argues that fear of childbirth has long been present among American women and this fear has the effect of longer, harder labor.

NOTES ON THE PREPARATION AND NUTRITIVE VALUE OF COCONUT MILK AND COCONUT CREAM

252 The term coconut cream ((5)hua (2)ka-(4)thi), as it 262 was used in Thailand, referred to the product which was made by squeezing grated coconut with little or no addition of water. Cocomut milk ((4)naam (2)ka-(4)thi) was made by squeezing grated cocomut repeatedly with water. Coconut cream might be made first, and the residue extracted one or more additional times to obtain coconut milk. The terms coconut milk and coconut cream apparently are not used consistently. Losee (1952) commented on this when he described [114] the preparation of coconut cream in Samoa, and said that it [71] was sometimes called coconut milk. Miller et al. (1936), in describing the preparation of coconut milk said "If a thick coconut milk to serve over puddings, taro leaves, etc. is desired, 1/2 to 3/4 cup of coconut water or boiling water should be poured over 3 cups of grated coconut. . . . If the milk is to be used in curry sauce for chicken, eggs, shrimps, or in cornstarch pudding, a larger quantity of water (1 to 2 cups of water to 3 cups of grated coconut) may be used."

126 In carrying out the dietary study, the observer weighed the grated coconut meat, the residue and the final products, coconut milk or cream, or both. She did not weigh the water as it was added in successive portions, but the amount of added water could be calculated.

[illegible] 262 The ratio of coconut milk to meat varied considerably, but on the average, households in Group A obtained coconut milk which weighed more than eight times as much as the coconut meat from which it was made. Households in Group B obtained less than 2½ times as much milk by weight as coconut meat. The number of extractions made varied from 2 to 6, [illegible] with a mode of 3. Obviously, the products made by Groups A [71] and B, although both called coconut milk, had markably differ- 262 ent percentage composition, and neither was similar to "coconut milk" for which values could be found. These values were as follows:

Authors	Location	Coconut milk grams per 100 gm. E. P. Pro.	Fat	Carbo.
Bocobo et al.	Philippine Islands	3.6	33.2	38.4
Food and Drug Division	Thailand	3.52	34.75	1.52
Miller et al.	Hawaii	4.0	27.0	18.9[1]

1. Personal communication

Exposure of Infants to Sunlight.

854 Even during the rainy season sunshine was usually abundant in Bang Chan, but taking a baby out of doors at an early age was generally thought to involve some risk. Many houses had low or wide eaves, and an infant was usually kept in a cradle in the house where sunlight could not penetrate. When old enough to hold up its head while sitting astride an older person's hip, the infant might be carried about the compound by parents or older siblings. As the question was worded ("When did you take the baby outside the house?" or "At what age did you take the baby with you when you went out for pleasure?") the answer did not mean that the baby was taken out with any degree of regularity at the specified age. Most of the babies in this series had been taken outdoors by the time they were 3 months old, but 4 were a year or older when first exposed to [164] sunshine. Nevertheless, the physician found no evidence of rickets among the infants he examined.

One informant, a school teacher's wife, said she thought that taking the baby into the sunshine was not harmful; in fact she believed it made the baby stronger than usual. She thought, however, that too much exposure to sunshine might "bring cold into the baby" and she spoke of the beret as a protection against this.[1] In Bang Chan, an otherwise naked infant might wear a beret when being taken out of doors.

MATERNAL DIET

Diet During Pregnancy.

843 242 [125] Of 31 mothers who furnished some information on diet during pregnancy, 17 were pregnant when interviewed, and the remainder had young infants, in most cases under 3 months of age. Eighteen of the interviews were based on schedule 4 (Appendix p. 53) and provided fairly detailed information on the kinds of foods eaten. Other informants gave more general information, such as foods craved or disliked.

---

[171] 1. Wellin (1956) mentioned the small woolen cap made or bought by mothers in the Valley of Ica, Peru, for the infant to wear. The cap was put on soon after birth and was worn, off and on, for many months. The function of the cap was to prevent the entrance of cold via the fontanel, which was defined as a particularly vulnerable point of entry. Wellin noted that all infants he saw in maternity wards in the Valley of Ica wore woolen caps.

clear evidence of a seasonal effect. If weight gain in Thai infants is related to season, this could be better defined by weighing groups of children at monthly intervals and determining when or if changes in rate of gain occur.

Although our records were not made for the purpose of correlating food intake with weight gain, and no quantitative information was obtained on the diets of mothers and babies, we attempted to see if any obvious relation existed between the variety of food eaten by the mother or the child and the child's growth. For this purpose, case studies were made of 7 infants whose records from birth onward were fairly complete. The age at last observation was from about 14 to 18 months. Four of these children had gained at each weighing and weighed more at one year of age than the average infant observed by Dr. Montri (1939). Three were chosen because they had lost weight or failed to gain at some time during the period of observation and weighed less at one year of age than the average infant observed by Dr. Montri. Infants of both sexes were included in each group. No illnesses or abnormalities were recorded in the clinical histories of any of these babies or their mothers. No evidence was obtained from the qualitative food records as to why some infants gained consistently and at a fairly "normal" rate, whereas others gained relatively slowly and failed to gain or lost weight at times (Smith, 1958).

Quantitative food records might have provided evidence on this point but our observations were inadequate for this purpose. Such quantitative records should include estimations of the amount of mother's milk obtained by the infants, based on the baby's weight before and after nursing, as well as records of supplementary food given. Analysis of the mother's milk, particularly for the content of the water soluble vitamins which are influenced by the mother's diet, should also help to shed light on the cause or causes of the common failure to gain weight among older infants and small children in Bang Chan. No cases of beriberi occurred among the infants we observed, but in two instances siblings had died of infantile beriberi.

Evidence of protein malnutrition has not been commonly recognized in rice eating areas, but one must consider the possibility that these children may be in a state analagous to pre-kwashiorkor. Development of the clinically recognizable protein deficiency disease may be forestalled when the child learned to feed himself and eats more liberally of rice with some fish and egg. Of the 54 children with kwashiorkor observed by Metrasiri and Metrasiri (1955) in Bangkok, many were weaned earlier than was usual in Bang Chan. Most of them, however, had been breast fed, and 4 were still being breast fed when the disease was diagnosed.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

essentials not atypical of the region. Instead of villages being organized administratively on the basis of natural social groupings and demarcations—that is, social centers and groups with which people feel a primary identification, in Bang Chan's case the local Buddhist monastery and government primary school—so that governmental and social units are isomorphic, they are gerrymandered into highly arbitrary administrative units. Thus the village of Bang Chan is comprised of seven *muubaan* or hamlets, at the head of which are seven hamlet headmen; these hamlets are located in two different *tambon*, or communes (four in one commune, three in the other) headed by two commune headmen, neither of whom lives in Bang Chan; the two communes are located in two different districts headed by two different district officers and their staffs; the two districts fortunately are in a single province, Phranakhoon, the same administrative unit in which the metropolis of Bangkok is located. Yet the people who reside in these varying hamlets located in different communes and districts all perceive themselves as living in the single village of Bang Chan. The fundamental organizational problem here is that since the sources and lines of governmental authority do not follow the lines of the natural Bang Chan community, jurisdictional conflicts and confusions arise to threaten the effectiveness of those community-wide programs that occasionally may be initiated. For example, during a diphtheria immunization campaign in the village (Hanks and Hanks 1955), the public health officer from one of the district offices was reluctant to immunize all the children of Bang Chan on the grounds that some of them came from hamlets outside his district's jurisdiction; he yielded, as the Hankses note, only when a perceptive villager pointed out that if germs knew no boundaries why should he?

Not all villages of the Central region have such real or potential administrative difficulties. (And Bang Chan does not have them too frequently either, principally because the government does not initiate too many community service programs.) However, the basic organizational principle which admits them—that houses are grouped together as administrative "villages" on the basis of conceptual neatness rather than socially functional criteria—is a common feature of the administrative structure of the Central Plain.

The foregoing account describes some basic culture patterns which Bang Chan shares with other villages of either the region or the nation. In addition to these broader patterns, Bang Chan has certain traits which inevitably refer to local village conditions and contingencies. For example, the most active and viable social unit in Bang Chan beyond the familial level is the order of Buddhist monks associated with the monastery. It is the only organization within the village that has been successful in mobilizing community activity (Sharp *et al.* 1953), although much of this activity has

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost a Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

village; for how long his wife or child did not know: "maybe he will be back next week or next month; it is not certain." In a similar vein, we would encounter a youngster serving at the monastery, a week later working as a chore boy in someone's home, and a few months later living in still another home. And most fascinating of all are those seemingly amicable and placid families—and it should be remembered that Bang Chan is small enough, and in the daily round of life open and quiet enough, so that the slightest manifestation of family tension may easily become public knowledge—which suddenly split apart after a disagreement about something as inconsequential as a missing shirt. Here, the cause of fission is of course not the intrinsic importance of the missing item (although a white "city" shirt is expensive and does have symbolic significance), but rather the villagers' extraordinarily low tolerance for interpersonal conflict and the challenge to their pride: rather than permit the disagreement to mushroom into an emotionally expressive conflict, it is much easier to leave the field. Because the volatility of a dispute is what is often most feared, one rarely hears of any actual argument accompanying the disagreement; instead villagers say, "We had a few words and he left. That's all." [10]

None of the above is meant to imply that family fissions are typical, in a statistical sense, of Bang Chan or even less that discord is what causes them. (Our concern with discord was simply to illustrate that villagers feel so strongly about it that when it occurs, they will take the most extreme measure to avoid it.) However, together with the separations that result from economic opportunities, "arrangements of convenience," and the desire to be footloose, they do occur frequently enough to exist as potentialities in the life of every family; when they happen they are not completely unexpected.

These points have been raised primarily because Bang Chan is in fact a rather placid community, and in discussing kinship it is easy to mistake placidity for inertia, especially when our typical categories of description almost assume the latter state to be the case. However, accompanying this placidity is a kind of quiet dynamic resulting from 1,771 individualists—polite, gentle, non-aggressive, but nevertheless individualists—pursuing their own purposes. These pursuits do not preclude family obligations, loyalties, and love—Bang Chaners repeatedly speak and act in terms of repaying the love that their parents have given them; of repaying them for

[10] The desire to avoid emotional climax here seems very similar to what Bateson (1949: 40) found among the Balinese where, when individuals quarrel, there is an attempt at a "formal recognition of the state of their mutual relationship, and possibly, in some sort, a pegging of their relationship at that state . . . this method of dealing with quarrels would correspond to the substitution of a plateau for a climax." In Bang Chan, the "plateau" is achieved by having nothing to do with one's antagonist.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

As the reader might by now suspect, it is not easy to determine the basis of the unity of the family. However, of all the factors that keep people living together in amity and affection, two come to the fore: a sense of love, obligation, and respect that is derived from the simple fact of kinship, but which must be continuously confirmed by mutual benefits; and economic considerations.

The economic foundation of the family is significant not only because the family is in fact the sole economic and occupational unit in the community (with the exception of the monkhood and school) but because the villagers themselves think of the family in terms of its economic functions. People say that they marry for wealth or because of the productive capacities of their spouses;[13] spouses stay together because the economic costs of a split are too great; most important of all, people are keenly *aware* of their economic interdependence. Fathers say that they need children to work in the fields and care for the buffalos, that a family needs a mother so that its members will be fed, that siblings are useful because it is easy to borrow from them (although, as noted earlier, some are unhappy about the intrusion of the kinship tie into what they regard to be a commercial transaction). Many villagers extend this economic, transactional type of thinking to other aspects of the kinship relationship. Thus they say that "the purpose of marriage is to have a companion who will take care of you when you get sick," or very frequently that "my parents went to the trouble of bringing me up so they would have a person to make merit for them when they die." The emphasis here is on independent agents serving each other because it is mutually beneficial.

The love and affection that people feel for each other is of course grounded in the close associations that one finds in most nuclear families. However, the attitudes of respect that one sees are perhaps more distinctively Thai. Almost all the literature on Thailand refers, at one point or another, to the patterns of respect (*khwaamnabthyy*) existing between people, both within and without the family. These patterns are based, in the first instance, on the status inequalities that exist in almost all social

---

[13] In responding to the unstructured Sentence Completion Test item, *"He (she) wants to get a wife (husband) who. . . ,"* for example, thirty-one of sixty informants indicated that they wanted a mate who "was a good worker," "earned a living," "was rich," or otherwise had high socio-economic status. Only two persons said that they wanted a spouse for reasons that could be reasonably defined as sentimental: one woman wanted a husband who "would be a good friend with whom she could discuss things," and a man said he wanted a wife whom "he loved." Other informants gave completions distributed among a variety of categories: "polite, well-mannered, handsome, kind, strong, and good" spouses; and six women wanted husbands who would be faithful.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

relationships: within the family, usually in terms of the relative ages of people; elsewhere, in terms of age, wealth, power, knowledge, religious or governmental role. Secondly, they are based on the assumption that every individual, regardless of his position in the hierarchy, deserves respect. The first is a respect associated with the proper performance of one's role; the second, a recognition of the essential dignity of every human being.

The role of these respect patterns cannot be emphasized enough. Benedict, in her study (1946) of Thai culture at a distance, referred to the learning of the *waj*, or gesture of obeisance, as "the first teaching the child receives." Although the *waj* is perhaps not the very first social act the child learns, I have seen infants no more than two weeks old being guided by the mother in raising the palms of their little hands to the forehead in expression of deference to superiors. The older infant who can do this on his own almost always receives acknowledgments of approval and delight from the adults in attendance. An older sibling really means it when he says of his relationship with his younger brothers, "when I ask them to do some kind of work, they go and do it. They never disobey, and when there is no disobedience, there is no hatred. . . . Formerly, whenever there was entertainment somewhere I took them with me. My younger siblings love me a lot. . . ." His position in the authority structure assumes the respect of those younger than he, and they willingly grant it for, among other things, he plays his role well as the kindly superior who takes them with him whenever there is entertainment. All the polite little linguistic forms (honorifics, expletives suggesting status and, most important, ordinary kinship terminology with its specification of relative age) as well as kinesthetic forms (lowering the body while passing a seated older person, holding the younger between one's legs and with arms around him in a position of protection) also serve to emphasize the respect that people grant one another because of their differential status. Perhaps the most revealing illustration of the strength of these patterns, at least the authority pattern, was provided by a two-year-old toddler who pointed to the stomach of his pregnant mother and said with pride, "My younger sibling is in there. When he is born he will be *my* responsibility." Little doubt that when the child is born he will give his older brother his due.

With regard to the other respect form, recognizing the dignity of every human being, more than once I have heard parents say that they disliked giving their child a certain medicine "because it offends the baby; he does not like it. It is better not to give it to him than to hurt his feelings." Although I do not doubt that in some instances the parents were annoyed more by the screams of the child than anything else, I am also convinced that for the most part they were respecting his basic individuality and right

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

harvest time, serve to create a rite of intensification as family members decide together what work will be done by whom, arise early in the morning to work together happily in the fields—sometimes for as long as fourteen hours at a stretch—and actually see the fruits of their coöperative labor mount up on the threshing floors. The sense of familial solidarity and intradependence, and its associated feelings of love, is experienced by all.[16] Also, since harvesting more often than not involves working reciprocally with other families, the host of a reciprocal labor group giving a feast whenever possible at the end of the day, it serves, although to a lesser extent, to intensify feelings of membership in the larger community.

Summary

In my discussion of the "cultural background," I have dwelt primarily on kinship because the family is functionally the most significant social unit in the village and because it is within the context of kinship that personality is developed and, in Bang Chan, most frequently expressed. None of this is meant to imply a lack of importance for other social units—the monastery, the school, the state—or for the non-institutionalized relationships—friends, drinking partners, and business contacts. However, kinship does provide the basic psychological model for all human relationships in Bang Chan,

[16] Although the annual cycle of Thai peasants is described in detail in the available ethnographies on Thai rural life (deYoung 1955, Fraser 1960, Kaufman 1960, Kingshill 1960, Sharp *et al.* 1953) a few words should be added about the psychological dimensions of this cycle. Thus familial solidarity, intradependence, and love are not the only sentiments that are heightened during the harvest period. Perhaps the most striking quality of this season (December to January) is the increase in the optimism, joy, and general psychic well-being of the villagers: people laugh more loudly than usual; they relish telling about the things they are going to buy; parents take more kindly to the gallivanting of the children. These months contrast with transplanting time (late July to early August) and the period prior to harvest (October to November), when an overabundance of rain can destroy the villagers' rice seedlings or their entire crop. These latter periods are marked not so much by anxiety as by a sense of watchful waiting. All these contrast with the Dry season when things are especially quiet in Bang Chan and when villagers spend their time repairing farming equipment and houses, gossiping, or are working on jobs outside the community. Villagers say that of the three major seasons of the year (Dry, February to June; Rainy, June to January; Cold, January to February) they like the Rainy season best. The season coincides with the rice-growing cycle, is marked by Buddhist Lent and, excepting a final week of Monsoon downpour, is in fact the most comfortable period of the year.

These seasonal activities and attitudes also have direct implications for field work. Thus, while villagers gave freely of their time during the dry season and after the harvest, and during the latter were especially outgoing and benign, many simply would not see me during the weeks of planting and harvesting. The benign attitudes of villagers interviewed after the harvest were reflected directly in the data, as were the noncommittal responses of some villagers who were interviewed during transplanting time.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

571 given were equally oblique. Although I never really overcame my feeling
123 of helplessness in dealing with such situations, I did manage over a period
466 of time to communicate to those in my employ the appropriateness (at least regarding our own particular relationship) of giving me fair warning, *e.g.*, "Europeans are different in this way."

571 Again, there is nothing extraordinary or unique about personal desires and inclinations intruding on the stability of an interpersonal relationship. However, what is unique to Bang Chan and Thai culture in general is the frequency of such intrusions, the extent to which they take precedence over the responsibilities of the established relationship, and perhaps most im-
*[156] portant, their general expectability. No Bang Chaner is ever taken aback when another does not fulfill his assumptions about how that other will behave. Note that these intrusions may have little effect on the face-to-face contacts existing between people. My assistant's declaration that he was going to the movies was presented in a most affable way and in the other examples cited, where people were left in the lurch, there need not have been any contact whatsoever between the parties involved.

114 Reference was made to these modes of relationship in the section on
*156 Bang Chan social organization and kinship. However, they received their
• 171 first formal, and perhaps most elegant, formulation in a now famous article entitled "Thailand—A Loosely Structured Social System," by the late John F. Embree (1950). Embree's application of the notion of "loose structure" was mainly descriptive rather than analytic; it was used to summarize a wide variety of empirical materials. Thus (182): "The first characteristic of Thai culture to strike an observer from the West, or from Japan or Vietnam is the individualistic behavior of the people. The longer one resides in Thailand the more one is struck by the almost determined lack of regularity, discipline, and regimentation in Thai life. In contrast to Japan, Thailand lacks neatness and discipline; in contrast to Americans, the Thai lack respect for administrative regularity and have no industrial time sense." After providing an extensive series of examples—on the lack of binding filial piety, on the tendency to permit a thief to steal from a neighbor's house without raising an alarm or attempting to stop him, on the capacity to delay and double-talk those with whom one has business dealings, Embree concludes (184): "The point here once more is that . . . while obligations are recognized, they are not allowed to burden one unduly. Such as are sanctioned are observed freely by the individual—he acts of his own will, not as a result of social pressure."

114 While Embree's formulation is by definition phrased in social structural
*156 terms, it inevitably directs our attention to an underlying motivational issue: the nature of the villagers' dispositions to conformity. Conformity to the expectations of others—whether such expectations are shared, comple-

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

mentary, or emergent—is of course a basic requisite of all effective[19] social action. It is perfectly clear, as was demonstrated in the earlier discussion, that Bang Chaners are highly motivated to conform while in the direct presence of others. Often there is over-conformity when in such situations villagers become overly solicitous to what they think are the needs of others. However, the hallmark of Thai social relations is that there never is any certainty that such face-to-face contacts will take place, or if they do take place, that the conformity which exists during the direct encounter will be sustained once the contact has ended. The overriding inclination of the Bang Chaner is to separate the encounter itself from that which precedes or follows it; psychologically, they are independent and unrelated experiences. The typical Bang Chaner excels at the art of indicating agreement with people—responsiveness, coöperativeness, and compliance with their verbal requests and orders—and then once the situation has been concluded, doing precisely what he wants, often the exact opposite of that to which he had agreed.[20]

Ordinarily, this is not intended as a form of duplicity. Villagers are quite sincere (and probably correct) when they say: "People are much happier when you agree with them and tell them what they want to hear." Too, the behavior is explained in part by the fact that most villagers feel they can change their plans and intentions with impunity at the slightest provocation. Unfortunately, the other persons involved may not be informed of the change until it actually occurs. A Bang Chan employee who

[19] The term "effective" is inserted here to acknowledge that social action is just as likely to be characterized by ambiguity, confusion, and misunderstanding—the absence of clear expectations—and that in some cases (for example, greeting rituals) it is oriented mainly to *discovering* patterns of expectations. Further, insofar as such action occurs through time, it is never completely free of a minimum of both ambiguity and certainty: the ambiguity of not being able to anticipate what might *next* occur; the certainty of knowing that what does emerge has *some* relationship to what has gone before.

[20] Bang Chan and Thai culture in general evidently are not the only places in Southeast Asia where one finds these modes of response. Addressing himself to a rather different issue, Geertz (1956: 155), writing about the social attitudes of Javanese peasants, notes: "Now, as in the past, the central government and the *prijaji* [aristocratic, learned, upper class] outlook which justifies it sits uneasily in the general social context of Javanese peasant society, with much less actual control over the behavior of the villager than it would seem at first glance to have. Without the intricate ties between the rural and urban gentry one finds, for example, in China, or without the deeply rooted clearly defined, land-rights-linked social code of reciprocal obligations of feudal Europe, the *prijaji* has always found outward submission, exaggerated respect, and placating excuses easier to obtain from the *abangan* [traditionally oriented peasants] than actual obedience." This passage, of course, was concerned with the nature of the Javanese authority system rather then with more generalized patterns of interpersonal response. Whether Javanese respond in the same way to fellow villagers and to other social equals is unclear. However, the stylistic similarities between Thai and Javanese peasants are striking.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

1923–1924], translated by Cunnison) and Homans (1961) have argued, that human relationships everywhere are based on just such a consideration, usually concealed by ethically palatable amenities (such as in American culture, from which most of Homans' empirical materials come). However, what is so intriguing about the Thai case is that *quid pro quo* factors are forever in mind as justifications and explanations of why people relate to one another. Although villagers, because they are such polite people, rarely say to others, "I am helping you because I know the day will come when I need your help," or "Do this for me because you owe me a favor," they do use such arguments *to explain* the basis of their ties: "Of all my friends I love Lek the most because she has done me the most favors (*bunkhuns*)"; "The purpose of marriage is to have a companion who will take care of you when you get sick"; "Of all my daughters, the one who gives me the greatest pleasure is the one who sells things. . . . When she gets money she gives it to me"; "Friends are very useful because it means that you have people who will do you favors. And when they need help you will take care of them. This is love." [21]

One of the finest discussions of the nature of reciprocal obligations appears in a recent paper by George M. Foster (1961) that deals not with a Thai community, but with the Mexican village of Tzintzuntzan. Foster outlines in his paper the notion of the "dyadic contract" which he presents as a model for the social structure of Tzintzuntzan. Or, more precisely: "Specifically, I suggest a model . . . to reconcile the institutionalized roles which can be recognized and described in the community with the underlying principle which gives the social system coherence." Foster's focus thus differs somewhat from our psychological emphasis. However, his abstract statement of the "dyadic contract" provides such an excellent summation of the major factor making for enduring social relationships in Bang Chan that it merits quoting in detail here. There are of course inevitable differences in cultural content between the two communities and the fact that

[21] Such explanations are not unique to Bang Chan. In his description of the Thai–Lue village of Ban Phaed in Northern Thailand, Moerman (1962) observes: "The society of Ban Phaed operates in terms of something got for every something given. This is not merely an analytic device which permits a predictive, if crass, view of any human society. It is the way in which villagers explain and evaluate their own behavior. Favor for favor, visit for visit, meal for meal, one should return what he receives. 'We help our kinsmen because they help us. If a kinsman however close didn't help me, I wouldn't help him.' 'We care for our children when they are young; they will care for us when we are old.' Actions which we would justify in terms of compassion, generosity, public-spirit, patriotism, pride in a job well done, the Lue villager speaks of in terms of reciprocal, short-term self-interest. Their actions are no more selfish than ours. Far from it. But the moral rhetoric of a Lue villager is different from our own. In politics, economics, family life, and religion it focuses on something got for something given."

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

114 status differences and the looseness of social ties loom considerably in Bang
* 156 Chan probably makes for some other structural variations.[22] However, as
• 171 stated below, Foster's formulation applies almost perfectly to Bang Chan
571 (1173–1176):

> The model appears to account for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status, between people of different statuses, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings as well. Although my analysis deals only with Tzintzuntzan, I think the model will prove useful for other societies with similar structural features . . .
>
> Briefly it is hypothesized that every adult organizes his social contacts . . . by means of a special form of contractual relationship. These contracts are informal, or implicit, since they lack ritual or legal basis. [This is not completely true for Bang Chan. There is, for example, a special "Teachers' Day," sanctioned by the national government, set aside for honoring teachers, and thus providing ritualistic reinforcement to the contract.] They are not based on any idea of law, and they are unenforceable through authority; *they exist only at the pleasure of the contractants.* The contracts are dyadic in that they occur only between two people; three or more individuals are not brought together. The contracts are noncorporate, since social units such as villages, *barrios*, or extended families cannot truly be said to enter contractual relations with other families, although spouses often honor the obligations inherent in each other's contracts.
>
> The implicit dyadic contract is made between members of a family as close as siblings [and in Bang Chan, as close as husband and wife, and parents and children] . . . ; and it unites neighbors and friends. Contracts are found between social and economic equals within Tzintzuntzan or with similar people in other communities. And they are found between people (or beings) of different status and category, as on those few occasions when outside political leaders or economic patrons have ties with villagers and when a villager invokes the aid of the
[776] Virgin Mary or a saint. [In Bang Chan, a functional equivalent of the
[782] latter would be when villagers propitiate the *caw*, or Spirit Lord,
[778] who resides in the *San Phra Phuum*, or house of the Guardian Spirit
of the home. This is a replica of a house, about the size of a bird cage,
[782] located in every house lot in Bang Chan. The offering of rice and
flowers to the *caw* is explicitly a form of payment to him for the use

[22] A second paper on Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1963) indicates that there are some crucial motivational differences as well, viz., Bang Chaners enter into dyadic contracts with a much greater sense of freedom than do Tzintzuntzeños. Their attitude is both more cavalier and cold-blooded than the Mexican peasant who feels that if he is to exist, he has no choice but to enter into these contracts. The Bang Chaner is animated by a sense of personal advantage; the Tzintzuntzeño by a sense of passive participation in a system he cannot change.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

of the land upon which the human home is built. In effect, humans have temporarily "rented" the land from him.]

. . . [The] contract implies and is validated by reciprocal obligations . . . [In] its totality the system of complementary reciprocity validates, maintains, and gives substance to the implicit contractual networks. The symbolic meaning of exchanges (as contrasted to economic and other functions) is accepted without question by all villagers: as long as a person continues to give to and receive from a partner, he is assured that the particular relationship is in good order. *When an exchange pattern between two people terminates, it is overt evidence to both that the contract is dead,* regardless of the formal institutional ties or the religious validation which may, in theory, continue to bind the participants. [Italics added.]

In anthropological analysis it is customary first to seek and attempt to identify the factors which link human beings together rather than those which keep them apart. This is so much a part of our professional tradition—in effect, one of our "primitive predicates"—that we tend to gloss over the question of the extent to which people must have enduring interpersonal commitments. This question has not been pursued in precise detail in our discussion. However, the realities of Bang Chan social behavior are so weighted in the direction of atomistic and essentially non-relational considerations that any coherent discussion of them should be organized in approximately equivalent terms. It is for this reason that the bulk of our presentation has focused on the individualistic nature of the villagers and that the factors accounting for interpersonal linkage were left to the end. It is hoped that such an organization has accurately reflected the tone and quality of Bang Chan social life as it is encountered and felt by an outside observer trying to understand its meaning to those who experience it.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

*125 *128 152 their physical well-being.[7] They specify such threats as poverty (15 informants), not having enough to eat (11), illness (4), flood and fire (3), death (3), and being bitten by poisonous snakes (2). There is no significant difference in the economic statuses of individuals who mention either poverty or famine as their greatest fear. While there are six references to these fears on the part of "poor" villagers, there are sixteen references on the part of "average" villagers and four references on the part of "rich" villagers, all accurate reflections of their representation in the sample. The second major category of responses, held by 20 percent of the informants, describe the actions of people as the source of greatest fear. In all cases, these refer to actions of people other than the self, and the reference in more than half the responses is specifically to thieves. In a few cases, younger informants speak of their parents scolding them or beating them. As suggested earlier, no villager recognizes any personal inadequacies as sources of fear, although the idiosyncratic *karma* (or *kam*) response, mentioned below, suggests this in a superficial way. In this regard, it might be noted that three informants assert that they are afraid of nothing. The third category, encompassing the responses of 10 percent of the villagers, mentions malevolent spirits as the sources of greatest fear. Interestingly, one of these informants tries to pooh-pooh her fear by noting that if there were no way to escape the spirit she could manage.

*125 *128 152 *156 From the point of view of one of the major concerns of this book, the most significant finding of the above data, replicated in part and in an even more apposite way in the next item, is that only a minority of villagers admit to any fear, symbolic or otherwise, of the actions of other persons, and none indicate any anxiety over their own actions toward others. The relevance of this finding is, of course, that it places our earlier remarks in the "Orienting Toward Others" section in proper perspective. In that section, where we were concerned explicitly with interpersonal relationships, it was perhaps inevitable that the interpersonal mode of anxiety would loom large. Here, however, villagers are permitted to express any kind of anxiety—physical, interpersonal, intrapersonal, fanciful, magical—and only a minority do indeed give their anxiety an interpersonal form. In this connection, a remark made much earlier in the text might be recalled. In discussing the uneasiness that villagers frequently betray in their interpersonal contacts (nervous laughter and concern with inconsequential

---

[171] [7] By way of general intellectual interest, it might be noted that this finding, as well as the one emerging from our next item, offers strong support to some "admittedly impressionistic and unverified" observations of Skinner (1957: 309–310) who, in discussing the major concerns of the lower class Thai members of Bangkok society, who are mainly transplanted peasants, singles out as primary their concern with "basic well-being, i.e., the health and safety of the organism."

BANG CHAN

164 Considering deciduous teeth only, in a group of 173 children, 93 boys and 80 girls who had deciduous teeth, 56% of the boys and 50% of the girls were free from caries. The average number of carious deciduous teeth per child was 1.4 and 1.5 for boys and girls respectively. For those with caries experience, the number of carious deciduous teeth per child was 3.2 for both boys and girls.

In the entire group of 226 children, 76% of 116 boys and 60% of 110 girls were free from caries of permanent teeth. The average number of carious permanent teeth per child was 0.5 for boys and 0.9 for girls. For children with caries experience, the figures were 1.9 and 2.3 for boys and girls respectively. None of the 30 boys with caries of permanent teeth had more than 4 such teeth, whereas 5 of 43 girls had more than 4 carious permanent teeth.

164 Data for children aged 12 to 14 in Galesburg, Illinois
• 171 and Colorado Springs (Dean et al. 1942) have been chosen for comparison of caries experience in permanent teeth, with that in Bang Chan. In these cities, the fluoride content of the water is conducive to low caries incidence, yet the percentage of children aged 12 to 14 having caries experience was 72.2 and 71.5 for Galesburg and Colorado Springs, respectively as compared to 41% for Bang Chan, and the number of DMF[1] permanent teeth per child was 2.36 and 2.46 as compared to 0.88 carious permanent teeth per child in Bang Chan.

The reason for the relatively low incidence of caries among children in Bang Chan cannot be stated with certainty. Similarly low or even lower caries incidence has been reported for certain age groups of children in various parts of the world, for example in North China (Afonsky, 1951), in the northern islands of Samoa where the people had little access to store foods (Losee, 1952) and in a small isolated village in Greece
[146] (Phillipas, 1955). One thing which residents of Bang Chan appeared to have in common with such other populations which are relatively caries free, was low intake of sugar[2], particularly in a form which would be apt to adhere to the teeth.

757 Restoration of Decayed and Missing Teeth. - None of the children examined had any filled teeth. Up to 44 years of age, the adults examined had retained almost all of their teeth, and
[145] no evidence of restoration, other than crowning was noted. Decline in average number of teeth was marked after age 55.

Of 92 adults with teeth, at least 7 men and 6 women had been to a dentist as evidenced by the presence of crowned teeth

1. DMF denotes decayed, missing and filled. Children in Bang Chan had no filled teeth.

2. Sudsanoh (1956) found the average per capita intake of sugar in 11 families to be only 6 grams per day.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 434 433 income and operator's labor earnings lies in the value of farm produce consumed by the family. Earlier, five kinds of produce were listed -- rice, fish, eggs, fruit and vege-
[235] tables. For technical reasons, we consider only rice and eggs as products of the farm, rice being the primary crop
[226] and eggs the secondary crop. Fish is not considered a farm product because Bangchan villagers fish for consumption, not for sale. Besides, fishing is done by every resident of the village, farmers and non-farmers alike. It is thus
[244] more of a way of life than an economic enterprise. The same
[245] is true for fruit and vegetable growing which is done in a very small scale.

If we agree on considering only rice and eggs as the products of the farm, it is not difficult to estimate the amount and value of farm produce consumed by the family for Bangchan operators can readily give a rather accurate information on their rates of consumption of these two products. Thus, under Bangchan condition the figure for operator's earnings is not as difficult to obtain as it appears to be the case among most American farms. The frequency distribution of operator's labor earnings of our 104 sample-farms is given in Table 48. It is seen that only 17 farms produced negative remuneration for the operator computed by this method as against 47 farms by the labor income method. As Professor Warren has said, of these two, labor earnings is a better
• [171] measure of profits. It is especially so in Bangchan and perhaps in other agricultural regions in Southeast Asia

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 where farm families are relatively large and agricultural
434 workers are usually under-employed.
433
[171]

Since farming in Bangchan is basically a single-crop enterprise, the major crop (rice) heavily outweighing the secondary crop (poultry), we are in a position also in this study to use another measure of success -- returns from rice over the cost of producing it -- without entailing the difficulty of cost allocation. We simply charge all items of expenses including the values of family labor and the operator's labor to the rice enterprise, the only exception being the value of paddy consumed by chickens and/or ducks. By returns from rice is meant the market value of the total harvest of paddy. This measure is similar to the net farm income when the farm products used by the family are included in the receipts (in some states of the United States this is done, but ordinarily not, the main reason for leaving these out being the difficulty of imputing accurate money values to them).

243 Tables 49 and 50 shows respectively the frequency
128 distribution of the cost of producing paddy per tang and
434 per rai for the 104 sample-farms. It is seen that the coef-
433 ficient of variability of the cost per rai is lower than that of the cost per tang, the former being 19 per cent and the latter 27 per cent. This is to be expected, for on the basis of such a unit area as rai there are seven items of cost that are somewhat fixed -- seeds, rent, human and buffalo labor in all steps of field preparation, planting, and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 309]

243 and enhance income from the farm, but it would not sig-
434 nificantly affect the farm family income or income for the
461 family living (see definitions under Headings 7 and 8 of the section on the operator's remuneration and measures of success) unless more land is added.

243 In rice farming, rates of production of crops and
433 animals is reduced to rice yield per rai. At the present
434 stage of technological development in Bangchan, this is not as much a result of management as of nature -- the water condition and the quality of land (in both senses of soil fertility and levels of the fields). Since we already have quality of land as a factor, rates of production may thus be eliminated.

After eliminating factors that are either insignificant or duplicates of other factors under Bangchan conditions, the standard factors affecting farm profit are thus reduced to prices, quality of land, size of business, and markets and marketing. These influences are familiar to students in agricultural economics, and therefore do not need further elaboration here.

[171] In addition to these standard factors, there are certain special factors affecting farm profit which the author suspects to be appropriate not only to Bangchan but also to all other rice producing areas of Southeast Asia. These are the differentials in paddy prices, in rates of interest, rentals, and wage.